The Two Great

QUESTIONS

CONSIDER'D.

I. *What the* French *King will Do, with Respect to the* Spanish Monarchy.

II. *What Measures the* English *ought to take.*

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1700.

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THE PREFACE!

SInce the Following Sheets were in the Preſs, ſome Letters from France *adviſe, that the King of* France *has ſaluted his Grand-Son the Duke* D'Anjou, *as King of* Spain.

Some of the moſt Intelligent Part of Mankind, think He has done ſo by way of Politicks ; *to ſee how the reſt of* Europe *will reſent it ; as He once did in a like Caſe. to the Prince of* Conti *as King of* Poland ; *whoſe Pretenſions He did not think fit to purſue.*

The Author therefore thinks the following Sheets are as much to the purpoſe as they were before ; and without any farther recommendation refers the Reader to the peruſal.

PREFACE.

THE Two Great QUESTIONS CONSIDER'D.

WE are told, That the Deceased King of *Spain* has by his last Will bestow'd his Kingdoms on the Duke *D' Anjou*, Grand-Son to the Present King of *France*. Amongst the many weak Actions of that Effeminate Prince, who hardly ever did a Wise One, This the most Ridiculous; if it be proper to give such an *Epithet* to the Actions of Sovereign Princes.

1. To imagine the Most Christian King won'd give any Regard to, or put any Value upon such a Bequest, any farther than consisted with his other Measures, or at least with his interest; must be a Folly none could be guilty of, but such as know very little of the King of *France*, or of the Affairs of *Europe*.

2. To think that the Rest of the Princes of *Christendom*, wou'd suffer the *Spanish Monarchy* to bequeath'd by Will to a *French* Man, without any Title or other Right than the Deed of Gift of the late King, and without any Regard to the Right of the Lawful Pretenders, is also most Egregious Nonscence.

To make way therefore, to the Case in hand, and come at the Questions before us with more Clearness; 'tis necessary to Examine the Nature, and probable Consequences of this Last Will and Testament of the King of *Spain*.

1. As to the Nature of the Thing, it seems to be a Tacit Invitation to all the Competitors to a Dangerous and a Bloody War; as if the King of *Spain* shou'd have said to his Privy Council, *I'll be revenged on them all for attemping to divide our Dominions; for I'll give it to One that has no Title, let the Rest fight for it, and the longest Sword take all.*

As to the Duke *D' Anjou*, he has no Manner of Title, but what is presumptive on the Death of his Father and Elder Brother without Issue; if they should have Children the Emperor of *Morocco* has as good, and perhaps a better Title to the Crown of *Spain* than He.

The *Dauphin* of *France* has an Unquestion'd Title to the Crown of *Spain*, if it be True, that the Renunciation made by his Father and Mother at the *Pyrenean* Treaty; cannot bind the Children so as to deprive them of their Right, which is the great Argument now us'd to defend their Title. Now if their Right be good the Crown is the *Dauphin's*, and after him the Duke of *Burgundy's* and his Heirs.

But I shoul'd be glad to have it answer'd, how the Duke *D' Anjou* can have a Title while the other are alive. It cannot be in the Power of the *Dauphin* to say, I will give my Right to my Second Son, for I do not think it worth my while, to accept of it for my self or my Eldest. Because,

2 The Consequence of that will in all Probability be this, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Son when he has One will say again My Grand-Father had no Power to give away my Right, I am the Undoubted Heir to the *Spanish Monarchy*, and so no Question he will be if the present *Dauphin* has a Right; and if Power be in his Hands to subdue it, he will have it, tho' the Possession be his Uncle's; for Crowns know no Uncles, Brothers, or

or any Relations; when Power of Poſſeſſion joyn'd with right is before them.

So that the King of *France* cannot but ſee, that to take the Crown of *Spain* from the Will and Teſtament of the late King, is Diſclaiming the Right of his own Son and Involving his Grand-Sons in Bloody Wars; the Iſſue of which a wiſer Head than His cannot foreſee. This laeds me to Conſider,

The Firſt Qnſtion.

What Meaſures the King of France *will take, with reſpect to the Succeſſion of the* Spaniſh Monarchy?

By ſaying what Meaſures he will take, I mean what He will in all Probability take, or what his Intereſt will lead him to take; for I ſuppoſe, no Man will imagine I am of his Privy Council.

To debate this Matter, 'tis neceſſary to conſider the King of *France*, with reſpect to the Terms He ſtands in with the reſt of *Europe*.

If the King of *France* were Abſolute Maſter of his own Meaſures, and had no Leagues or Nighbours to regard; there is no Queſtion to be made, but that rejecting all Conditions, he would immediatly enter opon the Dominions of *Spain* as his own undoubted Inheritance; or at leaſt his Sons; annex the ſame to the Crown of *France* and make it one Entire Empire, and any Man elſe wou'd do the like.

But as He has Meaſures to take with Powerfull Neighbours, who as Potent as He is, are able to give him Diverſion enough; and if He ſhou'd embroil himſelf with them, may make it a

hazard

Hazard whether he should obtain it or no; He is too Wise a Prince not to see that his Interest will Oblige him to act in Concert with his Neighbours, as far as conveniently He can.

The Truth of this Argument is abundantly confirm'd in the Measures He took, and the Alliances He made before the Death of the King of *Spain*.

They who think the King of *France* so Magnipotent that He Values none of his Nighbours, and talk so big of him, that like his Medal-makers they place him among the *Invincibles*; must have forgot the Seige of *Namure*, and the Vain Effort of the Power of *France* to relieve it; they must pass over his Deserting the Late, and Acknowledging the Present King of *England* at the Peace of *Reswick*; they must overlook toe low Steps he was oblidg'd to make, to draw the Duke of *Savoy* from the Confederacy, how he was unable to save *Casall*, which cost him so much Money; how he delivered the Impregnable Town of *Pignoroll*, which his Father called the Right Hand of *France*, and which cost him two Millions to fortifie; how he married the Fortune of *France*, to a Daughter of *Savoy* without a Portion, and bought the Duke of *Savoy* at the Price of his Grand-Son's Dishonour; how he surrendered the large Dominions of *Lorrain* and *Luxemburgh*, and above 100 Fortified Towns to the Confederats, which though he were always Master of the Field, woul'd cost him Seven Years to recover by the Ordinary Course of Sieges and Attacks.

These are plain Demonstrations, that he found himself over match'd by the Confederacy; and he is not a Man of so little Sence, as not to know it.

Why else in the League now made for the Partition of the *Spanish Monarchy*, should he content himself with the Dominion the *Spainards* had in *Italy*, and quit the Delicious Morsel of *America* to the House of *Austria*.

What Reason can any one assign for it, but that finding the *English* and *Dutch* never to be brought to consent, to his being so very powerful at Sea, as that Addition would make him; he was willing to accept so large a portion as the *Italian* Part assigned to him upon easie Terms, rather than venture like the Dog in the Fable; to loose all by coveting too much.

Upon these Terms therefore, in Concert with the *English* and *Dutch*, his most Christian Majesty has agreed, that on the Decease of the King of *Spain*, the *Spainish Monarchy* should be thus divided.

All the Dominions which the *Spaniards* possess in *Italy* to be given to the *French*, *Millan* excepted, which is to be given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in Consideration of the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, which are to be yeilded to the *French*, and all the rest, some few Towns on the Frontiers of *Navarr* excepted, to be given to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, with other particulars needless to Repeat.

This League being concluded, the King of *Spain* (as if he had linger'd out his Days only 'till it was thus fix'd) dyes according to our Account on the 22 *October* last.

The *Spainard* on pretence, that they would not have their Monarchy divided, and taking no Notice at all of the Right of any Prince to succeed; has made a Legacy of his Kingdoms, and given them all away to the Duke *D'Anjou*, a Prince who has no more Right to it, or pretence of Right, except as before, than the Prince of *Wales*, or the Czar of *Muscovy*.

Now 'tis a Mighty Disputed Point among our *Politicians*, what the King of *France* will do in this new Juncture of Affairs, whether he will stand by the Partition agreed on, or accept of the late King of *Spain*'s Bounty, and take the Kingdom as a Gift to his Grandson?

What he will do, as is before noted, cannot positively be asserted; but what Reason the State and Nature of the Thing, and his own Undoubted Interest will dictate, to be done by any *Prince* in his Circumstances, any one may Judge.

If He be the same King of *France*, that He has alwise been, who has very rarely took false Measures, or baulkt his own Interest, if he be guided by the same well mannag'd Council as he us'd to be, He will certainly adhere to the *Postulata* of his Alliance, and quietly accept the partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, as it is agreed in the beforemention'd League, For,

By this Acquisition of *Italy*, He secures to Himself the Absolute Dominion of the *Mediterranean Sea*; He entirely excludes the House of *Austria* from any farther Concern in *Italy*, He has the Church so absolutely in his Clutches, that He may make himself Pope if he thinks fit; And whenever He is *pleas'd to be Angry* with the petty Princes of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Mantua*, &c. They shall lay down their Principalities at his invincible feet, and count it more an Honour to be call'd *Princes of the Blood*, or *Peers of France*, than to be absolute Lords of their own Dominions. So he shall when ever he thinks fit, re-establish the Old Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and annex it to the Tittle of *France* and *Navarr*.

And all this without the Expence of Treasure or Hazard of his Armies, without fitting out a Fleet, or Fighting at Sea or on Shore; the *English* and *Dutch* being assistant to put him into the possession of it.

If the Emperor shou'd be so weak to oppose Him, He must stand upon His own Leggs, and in the present Circumstance, His Power does not seem formidable enough to make the Matter doubtful.

And

And now we are come to mention the Emperor, let us say a Word or two to those Gentlemen, who in His behalf speak big and say, he is able to baffle all these Measures.

First, They tell you, how powerful the Empire now is by the Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the most advantagious Peace with the *Turk*.

They tell you, His Imperial Majesty has an Army of 120 Thousand Men, besides the Troops of the *Circles* which are 80 Thousand more; that of these, 30 Thousand lye ready on the Confines of *Italy*, and all the rest of his Forces are drawing down to the *Rhine*, that the Duke of *Brandenburgh* on Condition of being made King of *Prussia* will join him with all his Forces; that the Duke of *Lunenburgh* on account of the *Ninth Electorate*, will mantain 30 Thousand Men at his own Charge, and thus all the Princes of *Italy* are on his side.

By these they tell you, the Emperor will immediatly on the one side secure *Italy*, and on the other side make such a Vigorous Diversion on the *Rhine*, that the King of *France* shall have work enough to secure his own Dominions, while in the mean time the Arch-Duke *Charles* shall be sent into *Spain*, where the *Spaniards* who Naturally hate the *French*, wil immediatly Proclaim him King.

Those are great things indeed, and if the Emperor be so strong, he may cut out a great deal of Work for the Confederates, and I'll suppose, the Emperor should be so blind to his own Interest as to attempt it, yet it seems not at all propable, that his Imperial Majesty, who has hardly been able to support himself this War, in Conjunction with the whole Confederacy of *Europe*, should imagine himself capable of putting a Check to the Power of *France*, in Conjunction with *England* and *Holland*; for whatever

over he might do in *Italy* and on the *Rhine*, he would never be able to defend *Spain* and *Flanders*, if he really had them in Poſſeſſion.

First, *Flanders* which has always been maintain'd by the Conjunction of the *Dutch*, would immediatly be entred by the *Dutch* on one ſide, and the *French* on the other; and muſt fall into their hands with little difficulty.

Secondly, *Spain* cou'd never hold out againſt the *French* by Land, aſſiſted with the Naval Forces of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* by Sea, the Iſlands of the *Mediterranean* muſt ſubmit to the Maſters of the Sea, and *America* would lye like the *Golden Garland* to the Wreſtlers, to be given to the Conquerors.

No Man can imagine, but the Emperor, to whoſe Son ſo conſiderable a Dominion is allotted, will accept of the Partition for his part, eſpecially when he ſees how impoſſible it will be to make better Conditions by Force.

What the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are to do, if he ſhould, remains to be debated under another Head.

I'le now ſuppoſe that which to me ſeems very unlikely, That the King of *France* ſhould accept of this Legacy, and claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grandſon the Duke *D' Anjou*, and attempt to ſet up that Rediculous Title of a Laſt Will and Teſtament, as the Foundation of his pretenſion.

Let us calmly conſider the conſequences,

1. He inevitably renews the War with the whole Confederacy, that Peace which coſt Him ſo much to procure is immediatly broken, upon the firſt Invaſſion He makes on the Territories of *Spain*, who are a Branch of the Confederacy.

2. He renews the War under inſuperable diſadvantages, ſuch as are infinitely greater than He lay under before, and ſuch as loudly tell the World, He never will Venture to Fight the whol

whole Confederacy again, *viz.* The multitude of ſtrong Towns and Cities which he Surrendered to the Confederates, which are a ſufficient Guarantee of the Peace, and the Different caſe of the Emperor, who is more than twice what he was the laſt War, by his Peace with the *Turks*.

3. If he ſhould make the Duke *D' Anjou* King, *France* would really get nothing by the Bargain, for in one Age the Race would be all *Spaniards* again; Nay, in a few Years Property wou'd prevail, and he wou'd no more let his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* when King of *France* encroach upon him, than the late King of *Spain* wou'd the preſent King of *France*; We do not want inſtances in the World, that Intereſt baniſhes all the Ties of Nation and Kindred, when the Duke *D' Anjou* had been King of *Spain* for ſome time, he will look upon *Spain* to be his Own, his Native, his Peculiar, and be as far from Subjecting himſelf to *France*, becauſe he was born there; as if he had never ſeen it: Poſſibly he might be willing to join Intereſt with *France*, and it may be join Forces upon Occaſion; but it muſt be where the Intereſt of the two Nations did not claſh then, and that is almoſt no where, but if ever *France* encroach upon him, ſhe would find him King of *Spain*, not Duke *D' Anjou*.

So that all the King of *France* could get by accepting the Crown of *Spain*, would be a little preſent Satiſfaction, to ſee a Son of the Houſe of *Bourbon* on the *Spaniſh* Throne, but as King of *France* he wou'd not be One Farthing the better for it.

But this would not be all as is before Noted, but whenever the preſent Duke of *Burgundy* comes to Enjoy the Crown of *France*, it will in all Probability be an eternal Cauſe of Contention between them: For if the Family of *France* has

any Title to *Spain*, 'tis in the Eldest Son of the Family, and there can be no Colour of a Title in the Second Son while the Eldest is alive, but what is founded either in the Gift of the One King or the Other.

As to the Gift of the *Dauphin* to his Second Son the First being alive, it cannot be valid; for he has no Power to give away what is his Son's by Inheritance, nor can no more give the Crown of *Spain* from him then the Crown of *France*; if Gift could be pleaded, the Grand-Father gave it away from them all before they were Born: Nay, if the Duke of *Burgundy* should consent to it, His Children if ever he has any will declare, he had nothing to do to give away their Right, any more than the present King of *France* had Power to give away the Right of the *Dauphin*; for since the Deficiency of that Action in its own Nature is the whole Ground of the *Dauphin's* Title now, it will directly destroy the Title of the Duke *D' Anjou* for what is a good Argument for him cannot be a bad One against him.

As to the Gift of the Defunct King of *Spain*, I see nothing in it to build a Pretence of Right on; If he had bequeath'd it to the Right Heir, I presume, he wou'd not have thought his Title on jot the better for it. And if he had bequeath'd it to the *Grand-Signior*, the King of *France* wou'd not have thought his Title the worse for it; So that it signifies just nothing at all.

We come now to the Grand Question proposed.

Quest. 2. What Measures the English ought to take in this Juncture.

The Answer must be in two Parts.

1. Supposing the French King adheres to the Partition agreed upon by the League before mentioned.

2. Supposing

2. Supposing the French King for Reasons which we know not should think fit to quite the Treaty, and push for the whole on the pretence of a Will made by the King of *Spain*.

'Tis confess'd *England*, since her Troops are broke, and her People more divided in Temper than 'twas hop'd they wou'd have been under so mild and gentle a Government, makes but a very mean Figure Abroad; and were any King at the Head of her Councils as well as Forces, but King *William*, hardly any Nation would trouble their Heads to Confederate with her.

But all the World does not yet see our weak Side, and the Reputation of the King makes us more formidable a great dale than we really are.

But we are to act according to the Knowledge we have of what our Circumstances really are, not what other Nations may believe them, least we let them know our Weakness as the Price of our Destruction.

However I'le for the present suppose what all good Men wish: That we were in the same good Posture as the War left us, united in Council, and ready for Action, And willing to preserve the Character we had then in the World.

And first, Supposing the King of *France* adheres to the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy.

If so, without Question *England* ought to put her self into such a posture as to be able, in Conjunction with the Dutch, to Force the Emperor and Princes of *Italy* to comply with the Conditions.

At the same time so to maintain the Ballance in the Partition, as to oblige the King of *France*, to accept of, and rest contented with the particulars Stipulated in their Respective

ſpective Leagues, without farther Encroachment, and to make themſelves Truſties for the reſt, in behalf of the Heir.

It is already ſtarted as a Query, what if the King of *France* does accept of the Partition, and the Emperor ſhou'd continue to ſtand out, the King of *France* is then at Liberty to take the whole if he can get it.

No ſuch Matter, I do not pretend to have been privy to the Debates, or of the Counſel, in the contriving this League, nor to be acquainted with what Proviſion is made, in caſe the Emperor refuſes to come in, but in order to give a Judgment as near as can be done without Doors, as we call it. I ſhall briefly ſtate the Reaſons, which in my Opinion ſhould move the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to form this League: And the great Reaſon, which, as I conceive, gave Birth to the firſt Project of this League, ſetting aſide private Reaſons of State, was the *maintaining the Ballance of Power in* Europe.

This has been the Foundation of all the Wars in our Age againſt the *French*, and in the laſt Ages againſt the *Spaniard* and the Emperor.

A juſt Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace. I queſtion whether it be in the Humane Nature to ſet Bounds to its own Ambition, and whether the beſt Man on Earth wou'd not be King over all the reſt if he could. Every King in the World would be the Univerſal Monarch if he might, and nothing reſtrains but the Power of Neighbours; And if one Neighbour is not ſtrong enough for another, he gets another Neighbour to join with him, and all the little ones will join to keep the great one from ſuppreſſing them. Hence comes Leagues and Confederacies; Thus the German Proteſtants

call'd

call'd in the Assistance of *Gustavus Adolphus* to match the Power of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the 2. and founded the famous League call'd the Conclusions of *Leipsick*, which brough the Imperial Power to the *due Ballance* which it now stands at on the Foot of the Treaty of *Westphalia*; So the *French* and the *English* assisted the *Dutch* to bring the *Spanish* power to a Ballance in the time of *Philip* the 2. when the Spanish Greatness began to be terrible to *Europe*, which Ballance was establish-ed in the Peace of *Aix la Chappel*.

So the power of *France* was brought to a Ballance, but not so equal as it might have been, had King *Charles* II. stood to his own Proposals at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the Defects of which Peace were in a great Measure the Occasion of this late War, which has been the longest, most chargeable, and most bloody that ever the French Nation has been engaged in since the Days of *Francis* the I. their own civil Wars excepted.

This War has brought the power of *France* to a Ballance, she had fortified her Frontiers with a continued Rampart, a Line of strong Cities from *Hunninghen* on the Confines of the *Swiss*, down the *Rhine*, the *Mosell*, and the *Maes*, to the very Sea-side, the greatest whereof she has been oblig'd to part with, to enable her Enemies to be their own Guarantees; by which in some places she is left so naked, that she is fain to build new Cities, or fortifie old ones to supply the Vacancy, as at *Brisac*, and in other she lyes wholly open as at *Piquerol*; she has stoop'd to such a Peace, as has made her far less formidable than before.

Now the precarious Life of the King of *Spain* gave the King of *England* just Umbrage, that this Ballance in which our Safety so much consists, should receive a Shock, to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest, by the Addition of the Spanish Dominion to that of *France*.

And here I place the Original of the project, as a probable conjecture, at least drawn from the Nature of things according to Rational Conclusions from probable Premisses: when better Grounds are made publick, I shall own my self mistaken.

When the pretenders to the Spanish Succession are considered they are found to be the Emperor and the King of *France*, the Prince of *Bavaria* being dead before.

To let the Emperor possess the Spanish Dominions, would be the Overthrowing the Ballance made at the *West phalia* Treaty, by which the House of *Austria* already strengthened by the Conquest of *Hungaria*, and the Peace with the Turks would be too potent for the Princes of *Germany*, nor wou'd the French like well that the Emperor, the Eternal Competitor of *France* upon the *Rhine*, shou'd be strengthen'd with such an Addition, by which he wou'd have been Lord of almost half the World.

To let the French possess the Spanish Dominions, would overthrow the Ballance Purchas'd in this War with so much Blood and Treasure, and render fruitless the Treaty of *Reswick*. 'Twou'd especially ha' been Fatal to the *English* and *Dutch*, by the encrease of Wealth from the Mass of Money, returning Yearly from the Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, which the French wou'd be better Husbands of than the *Spaniards*; by their encrease of Shipping, which would make them too strong for all the World at Sea, and by their ruining the Spanish Trade, which is the greatest and most profitable in *Europe*; 'twould immediatly unhinge all the Settlement of our Merchants and Factories, and ruin the whole Channel Trade; for the ports of *Spain* being free to the French as Subjects, all our Negoce that way wou'd be destroy'd, then their Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, and in the *West Indies*, would be intollerable and insupportable.

'Twou

'Twould fill a Volume to set down the Inconveniences which *England* and *Holland* must expect to feel, in case the French were Masters of the Spanish Monarchy, the *Streights-Mouth* would be like the *Sound*, and all our Ships should pay Toll at *Gibralter*, as they do at *Elsineur*, your Fishing Trade from *New-England* and *Newfound-land* wou'd perish, for the French from the Banks of *Newfoundland* should go free, and you pay 23 per *Cent*, &c. We must erect an Admiralty in the *West-Indies*, or maintain a Fleet there, or our plantations wou'd be always at his Mercy: our Collonies of *Virginia*, and *New England*, would easily be destroy'd while the French would lye on their backs quite thro' their Country from *Canada* to the City of *Mexico*.

These are some of the lesser Inconveniencies, which, as I presume, were the first Motives to the Treaty.

The Confederates therefore not being willing the *French* shou'd have *Spain*, and the *French* being resolv'd the Emperor should not have it, a Medium is proposed, that since it was not convenient for *Europe*, that either of them should have it all and both of them had a Title to it, it should therefore be divided between them in Manner and Form, as aforelaid.

This is the short History of this League, which really has more of Policy than of Right in it; for strictly Considered, the Rights of Succession can devolve but upon one Person, let that be he who it will, is not the present Business. But publick good, the Peace of Kingdoms, the General quiet of *Europe*, may prevail to set aside the Point of nice Justice, and determine in favour of the Publick Tranquility.

And I crave leave to make Two Observations here.

First, Our *Jacobite Protestant Brethren*, whose Understandings are so blind, that they cannot see the Interest of their Native Country, have here fairly represented to them the Condition

England

England had now been in, and *Europe* in General, if a Papist and Confederate with *France* had been on the *English* Throne; if *England* had not had a King who cou'd so far Influence the Ambition of the powerful Prince, as to prevent his seizing that Monarchy of *Spain*, which none but *England* cou'd hinder him from.

Secondly, Our Non-Jurants who hold the right Lines of Princes such Sacred things, may see that even among Hereditary Princes themselves, the Rights of Succession are oftentimes infringed, and the private Interest of Princes and Families set aside when the publick Interest of Nations, the Preservation of Peace, and the Keeping a General Ballance of Power among Princes, comes to be the Question, and the Histories of all Ages and Nations give Instances to prove it as well as this.

Having thus run thro' the Reasons of this League of Partition, the Question is answered of course, that if the Emperor shou'd refuse to come into the Partition and push for the whole, then the King of *France* is not thereby at Liberty to possess the whole, if he can, for that wou'd overthro' all the Measures upon which the League of partition is built.

The Emperor is not so weak a prince to refuse the Kingdom of *Spain* with all its *Ct's in the Ocean*, *Flanders*, and *America*, but upon some Expectation to get more; the Confederates therefore are to preserve that part which is Design'd him free, and then effectually to put it out of his power to obtain the rest, and with all not to admit him into the part Reserv'd for him, till he agrees to accept it on the Terms proposed; if he shou'd absolutly refuse it, which is a ridiculous Supposition, there are other Heirs of that Line to have Recourse too, there's no doubt the Crown of *Spain* need not go a begging for an Heir.

It may be answered, if it be thus, it is the Emperors best course to lay his Measures for the whole; and if he cannot carry it, he may accept of the Partition at last.

That's more than the Objector may be able to prove how far the Confedetates may think fit to bestow the Remainder, if the Emperor after a War shou'd be reduc'd to accept of it, is more than any one can answer, and more than the Emperor will try, if he be not infatuated worse than ever a certain King was; who, if he had not, might have been a King still.

The Second Branch of the Answer is supposing the King of *France* should so far beget himself, as to quite the League of partition, and claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grand-son *l' Duk d' Anjou*, by virtue of the Will of the King Defunct.

It must certainly then be the Interest of *England* and *Holland*, first to put themselves in such a posture as may prevent the French King seizing of *Spain* it self, and *Flanders* in particular.

And upon the first Invasion of the Territories of *Spain* by the French King, to declare War against him in Name of the whole Confederacy, as an Infringer of the Grand-peace at *Reswick*.

And then by appearing on the Frontiers in such a formidable manner as shall give him Diversion enough, that he cannot be able to enter *Spain* with any considerable Forces.

The first of these things is to be done immediatly, by fitting out a good *Fleet*, which should so scour the *Mediteranean*, that the French wou'd not be able to do much on the side of *Catalonia*: for Experience has told us a Fleet at Sea will make their War in *Catalonia* very uneasie to them, and by Landing a small Force of about Eight or Ten Thousand Men at *Fonterabia*, which should be sufficient to defend that side of the Country from the Invasions of the French.

But this Pamplet is not wrote to direct Methods, but to argue the General Point.

The Conclusion of the Argument must come to that sort of People, who have appeared Champions for our English Liberty, as to damn all kind of force, as useless, burthensom to the Kingdom, and Badges of Slavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for supporting Arbitrary Designs.

If the French shou'd attack *Spain*, I am far from saying I am glade they will be convinced; but I must say I am sorry the People of *England* have been deluded by their specious pretences.

For if the *French* carry the Spanish Monarchy for want of our being in a Condition to prevent it; I am bold to tell those Gentlemen, GOD Almighty must be put to the trouble of working another Miracle to save us, or we are reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition.

But say they, we have a great Fleet, and in that we are safe; It is true, Gentlemen, so we are from Invasion, I believe we need not fear all the World; but what is *England* without its Trade, without its Plantation Trade, *Turky* and *Spainish* Trade, and where will that be when a *French* Garrison is planted at *Cadiz*, and the *French* Fleet brings home the Plate from *Havana*.

What will the *Virginia* Collony be worth when the French come to be strong in the Lakes of , and have a free Commerce from *Quebeck* to *Mexico* behind ye, What will our Northern Trade be worth in a War, when the Ports of *Ostend* and *Newport* are as full of *Pirates* as *Dunkirk* and St. *Malo*?

A wise Man cannot patiently Reflect upon the formidable Power of *France*, with the Addition of the Spanish Dominion, and should he at last annex it to the Crown of *France*, who can consider without Horrour that all the *Ports* from *Sluce* in *Flanders*, to the *Faro Messina* in *Sicily*, should be in the Hands of the French, which is a Coast of near 3000 Miles, *Portugal*, *Genoua*, and *Leghorn* excepted; and how long they will hold out, is easie to imagine.

I know GOD can prevent Humane Contrivances, and I believe He has placed King *William* on the *English* Throne, on purpose to disappoint this Invincible Monarch in these vast Designs, but no Thanks to our Gentlemen that have so weakned both his Hands and his Interest at home, as to make him less able to perform for us what is more our own Advantage than his Majesty's wou'd be, and than the Case requir'd.

As to wayes and means I meddle not with them, I leave them to the wise Heads of the Nation, but with Submission to

their

their Judgement, this I am positive in, let our Measures be what they will, if they do not keep the Enemy, the *French*, I mean out of *Spain*, we are undone.

In all the Histories of Times and Wars, I never read of a General who would not chuse to be Master of the Field, and able to fight his Enemy, rather than to be coop'd up, and bound to defend the Walls of a Town.

If the *French* get the *Spatnish Crown*, we are beaten out of Field as to Trade, and are besieged in our own Island, and never let us flatter our selves with our Safety consisting so much in our Fleet; For this I presume to lay down as a fundamental Axiom, at least, as the Wars go of late, 'tis not the longest Sword, but the longest Purse that conquers. If the *French* get *Spain*, they get the greatest Trade in the World in their Hands; they that have the most Trade, will have the most Money, and they that have the most Money, will have the most Ships, the best Fleet, and the best Armies; and if once the *French* Master us at Sea, where are we then? And though I would not lessen our Fleet, which I believe is now the best in the World, yet he that looks back to the *French* Fleet before their Misfortune, will tell you that all our *English* was not able to look them in the Face, if we had no *Dutch* on our side, and hardly with the *Dutch* and Us together.

I am answer'd by some, that if the *French* should have *Spain* we shall Trade thither still, they cannot do without our Manufactures.

To this, I answer, time was, *France* could not Trade without our Manufactures. Now they are fallen into them to such a Degree, that they only want Wool, and they have Hands enough to supply all the World with Manufactures, and they are so supplyed with that from one place or another, that they buy none of our Goods now, or but a trifle; and if the Ports of *Spain* come to be filled with *French*, they will fill every place with their Goods, as well as People.

Besides, the Laws of Trade when Masters of the Ports will bring

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bring all Nations to Trade under foot with them, and with great disadvantages and hardships which will in the end ruine all that Trade that does not run thro' their own Hands.

The present King of *France*, like a wise Governor, puts his People upon all manner of Improvements; tho the *Spaniards* are a slothful Nation, if the *French* Diligence come once to thrive in *Spain*, he knows little of *Spain* that does not know they are capable of Improvements, several ways to the disadvantage of the *English* Trade.

I'll give but one instance, *Spain* is a very hot Country, and yet such is the constancy of the *Spaniard*, to the old Ridiculous Custom, that they wear their Cloaks of course black English Bays, should the *French* King when he is Master of *Spain*, forbid the *Spaniards* the wearing of Bays, and introduce some antick *French* Druget, or other thin Stuff, such as they make in *Normandy*, it would at once destroy our Trade of *Bays*; which is the noblest Manufacture in many Respects that we have in *England*, and send sorry thousand people who depend on that Trade to beg their Bread, or seek other Work, which other Work must of Consequence lessen the Employment of other Poor Families which it maintained before.

I could give many instances of the like Nature, as for one more should they prohibit the Exportation of *Spanish* Wool and Manufacture it among themselves, or into *France*; let the West Country Clothiers speak for themselves, and say what strange work it would make among them, or our *Hambrough* Merchants give an account what their Trade would come to, where they are outdone already in course Cloth and wou'd ha' no fine over to send to Market.

I know not but I may present the World with a short Account by it self, of all the Sensible Losses our Trade will come under, if the Kingdom of *Spain* should fall into the Hands of the *French*, tho me thinks it should be needless to run thro' it; the meaneſt Understanding being capable to know that the greatest parr of the Wealth of this Nation has been, and is still Rais'd by the Gainful Trade we have with the *Spaniards*.

FINIS.